Property

421 423 Although there were no defined tribal boundaries, customary usage gave people the feeling of ownership of certain land. It was not the land but the produce and game available on it which was the matter for concern. In this way there was a sense of tribal property or "home land." As individuals, women rather than men felt ownership of those places where they and their mothers had gathered seeds. Families did not own land, nor did the captains. According to the Tachi informant (M.G.) a woman went to one place to gather seeds and her daughters went to the same place. Another woman would not come there without invitation, but went to her own patch. If she trespassed, a quarrel ensued. A stake (šo´nɑl) marked the end of a woman's claim; a series of these several feet apart might be set up to include an area about forty feet square. Such plots had no special name.[30] A woman had such a special place for each type of seed. Her daughters continued to use the plot after her death; a sister might claim it if there were no daughters. If there were no close female relatives, M.G. thought it would be used by some woman friend who belonged to the same moiety.

A young married woman returned to her mother's plot to gather seeds. If it was too far away, she remained at home to do the cooking instead of going with her mother-in-law. Her own mother would send or bring her foodstuffs from time to time, but the mother-in-law gave her nothing. The young woman cooked for the entire family while her sisters-in-law went with their mother to do the gathering. This, [591] of course, was during patrilocal residence, which was the customary home of newlyweds in the lake area.

According to M.G., men did not own fishing or hunting places even in the above sense (but on this point a male informant's opinion is needed). They went anywhere within tribal [224] territory for game. Game was never sold, but was often given to friends. Men gathered tule roots more often than women, but whether the men, like the women, had individual claims on gathering places M.G. does not know.

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, UTENSILS, AND CRAFTS

Houses

342 No adequate description of houses was obtained for the lake region. Two types are well known, the long communal house and oval individual house; but the gabled house pictured by

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[30] The informant insisted that this property marking was a very old custom. The interpreter had never heard the word for the marking stake until the older women explained it to her, she claimed.

342 house there like those upstream. Generally they were built of thin tule mats and were quite long. Some of them were at least one hundred feet long. A sort of wooden ridge was erected on crotched poles set in the ground and the tule mats were leaned up against it. Everything else was of a more temporary nature than I was used to at Sycamore Creek [Choinimni territory].[33]

342 A chief's house was usually larger than
554 the rest, likewise his storehouses. J.A. re-
622 members Konti's which stood on a rise of ground: "he was always having little parties there."
[184 The long house made possible the practice of
591] patrilocal residence customary with the lake people (but not with those of the foothills).

The bottoms of mat-covered storage bins
343 were raised off the ground. When a tree was available, a storage bin would be set up in its branches. Their construction was like that of the foothills (see Wukchumni).

The ramada was used throughout the lake region.

Subsistence

22 The subsistence of the tular region was
262 composed mainly of water birds, fish, rabbits, and two staple flours made from iris seed and tule roots. According to M.G. deer meat was not obtainable even by trade, antelope being the only available large game animal. Bear meat, which the Tachi were not afraid to eat, was also scarce. Elk were too fleet for a hunter afoot, but were pursued on horseback. Weasels, coyotes, and lizards were not eaten; it is possible some people ate snakes. Bats
[825] (ŏ·mŏm) were not eaten, as they were supernatural assistants. Rabbits, cottontails, and squirrels were got by hunters in communal drives on the barren country west of the lake. There long nets were set up and groups of men deployed to herd the creatures into them. Mayfield states that the men formed wings and, armed with sticks two feet long, closed in in a pair of arcs and incapacitated the fleeing animals by hurling the clubs at them.[34]

[231] The eating of dogs M.G. (Tachi) attributed to the Chunut. This practice Powers mentions as generalized Yokuts, saying that the Yokuts raised dogs for the purpose. Estudillo witnessed the killing and eating of dogs at a celebration near the foothills. However, a Kechayi informant denied the practice for her
[184] people with a circumstantial story,[35] and Mayfield does not mention it, so the usage may not have extended to the northern foothills.

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[33] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31.

[34] Ibid., 33.

[35] Powers, 379; Gayton, Estudillo, 75; Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72-74.

Puberty

[841] 881 Menstruation was called paiya·h·n (pai·ya, blood; lit., "to be blooding"). A little ceremony was made for a girl at the termination of her first menses. J.A. recognized her own puberty as neglected due to disrupted native life; however, her mother made "a little party" for her after her first menstrual period. She was washed, and dressed with beads and earrings for the first time. She abstained from meat throughout the ensuing month and for six days of her next period. Then she was washed with a decoction of "some kind of weeds" and was permitted to eat meat. She was informed that to eat meat at this time would cause a hard ball to grow in her abdomen and that, if she attempted to steal meat to eat in secret, she would die. J.A. regretted that she had not been sent out to swim at night as part of her puberty training or taught "to mind her dreams" as she should have been.

Marriage

584 591 A young man went to a girl's house and remained there if she accepted him. For about a year he hunted and helped his father-in-law. Then the couple removed to his parents' home where, if there was room, they remained permanently. The function of the moiety in marriage is discussed under "Social Organization."

582 613 The lineage was primarily a nuclear exogamous group and secondarily, the moiety. Though it was usual to marry without one's moiety it was not compulsory, as is evidenced by the genealogies. No cousin marriage was permitted, and a couple known to be remotely related could not marry without unfavorable comment.

On Tachi marriages and affinal usages Gifford has some remarks.

[606] The term nukatmin means "my relation." Mother-in-law and father-in-law tabus were in force. There was also a partial tabu against a man talking to the wife of any man he called agas (mother's brother, mother's brother's son, etc.). Cross cousin marriage was not practiced, though it was said that anciently it was and that a man might marry either his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. I have no genealogical evidence to support this statement.

Death

764 [152] The Tachi informant had lost a grandson about a year before my visit and wept when mourning ceremonies were discussed, although the child's mother, one of the interpreters, showed no outward distress. Consequently no information on death or burial was obtained from the Tachi or Chunut informants, beyond the

[P. 1059] Wukchumni

582 would be called hokoi ´šan yiw‹ ´nši (sister
582 marriage) and would evoke the scorn of all who
588 knew of it. J.B. spoke contemptuously of two recently married young Waksachi who are second cousins. He added that he thought "people to the north" married their cousins. No special punishment was attempted in the old days when such a marriage occurred. The parents of both participants, having done their best to prevent it by verbal argument, would not, and apparently could not, do anything more. There was undoubtedly a loss of social prestige, but how far this affected the offspring of such a union cannot be said. The mere fact that informants could not formulate rules for these marriages is in itself an indication that commonsense entered, according to the particular circumstances. J.B. said that such marriages "never occurred with the Wukchumni" and, while there is no genealogical evidence to prove the contrary, we can scarcely accept a complete negative. No form of "uncle" marriage was known.

582 A man could marry where he wished, within the tribe, within his own village, and even a
591 woman having the same family totem as himself, provided no recognized blood-tie existed. If he had been betrothed to a girl at her first menses, he might, were he old enough, soon seek her bed at night. But in doing so he committed himself to a serious union with the girl and to obligations in the provision of food to her
583 family. For two or three months he rose early,
591 going for the morning bath and thence to his parents' home for breakfast. During the day he would fish or hunt, taking the game to his wife's home and remaining there for the evening meal. If he did not go there he hung about the sweat house and slept there at night; this was especially true if the girl's home was already crowded.

This sojourn at the girl's home was looked upon as a temporary arrangement and rarely lasted out a year. If the girl became pregnant at once, she usually wanted to stay with her mother until her baby came (M.L.).

After that the couple moved either to the husband's home or to a house of their own. When gathering seeds, or on any other food-collecting expedition, the young wife joined her mother if it were physically possible. If she did not accompany her mother, then she did not join her mother- and sisters-in-law but attended to household tasks and helped in the preparation of the food when it was brought in.

584 It may appear that a young man and woman were wholly independent in their choice of a mate, and especially so in their married life. But the parents of both participants exerted strong personal influence. They frequently arranged betrothals at puberty and made every effort to see that the marriage not only took place, but continued. The parents-in-law and
[601] their brothers and sisters all called each other by the reciprocal term ma´ki from the time the betrothal took place.

583 to take N.W. away. N.W. said "she was scared but didn't go."[123]

585 Something of a wedding ceremony took place in the form of the usual Yokuts feast. The groom's father [and presumably his male relatives] went hunting until they had a large quantity of meat. The bride's mother [and relatives ?] pounded acorn meal, cooked this and other seed foods. On the day of the celebration the groom's father brought the meat already cooked, and other gifts of beads and baskets, and in return received from the bride's mother the cooked meal and baskets. Then they all feasted, but each family ate in its own group. "Then the man would take the [591] girl to live with his mother." (J.R. said residence was matrilocal for the first year or two after marriage.)

592 When a girl married, she went to live in [591] her husband's home: her mother-in-law came after her. Thereafter the daughter-in-law was, so to say, the housekeeper in that family. Her mother-in-law devoted more time to making baskets and only occasionally assisted at pounding acorns or with other labors. The bride, if properly trained for her domestic tasks at home, was competent to assume her duties in her husband's household without directions from his mother. It was she, for example, who said when acorns were to be pounded, food gathered, and so on. When there were several daughters-in-law in one family they shared the work, but it was the young woman who had priority in marrying into the family who directed the others. The mother-in-law was always helpful, advised her daughter-in-law: "she was just like her own mother."

59 [194] Concerning residence after marriage, there was a difference of opinion; J.R. claimed that it was matrilocal. Perhaps this is a reflection of his Miwok background; perhaps both customs were followed by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts. His information on marriage follows.

583 A girl lived with her mother, father, and old people, i.e., in the normal family group.
584 She would begin talking about how she would like a certain young man to come live with them. The youth's father then would bring gifts of baskets, beads, etc., [The intervening events, inferentially an understanding between the two young people, was not explained.] He would talk to the girl's mother, saying that they would like their son to live with her daughter. "That is all. They just offered some good baskets and got the girl."

591 The young man came to live with the girl in her home; they stayed there "a long time." Then perhaps they would move to live with the

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[123] The situation is not entirely clear. Evidently the suitor presented the gifts but did not reclaim them, or claim Nancy, until after she had married Mike. Yet it had been apparent from the outset that she would not accept his gifts or him.

591 young man's family. Even after children were born, they would still live in a family home, not their own.

585 When people married there was no ceremony, said J.R., but qualified it with the amendment that sometimes they (which family, both ?) gave a little feast for which deer meat was especially obtained.

582 Some people married within the tribe, some outside, N.W. said. No couple who considered themselves related would marry. Bonds of relationship were equally strong on paternal and maternal sides of a family; the father knew who his relatives were, the mother hers, and prevented their offspring from making mistaken alliances. N.W. categorically stated that relatives never eloped, nor did a girl ever get married "by herself," i.e., without the ramifications of family consent and gifts from the suitor's family.

178 582 Today the young people have marriage connections with relatives that would not have been countenanced in the past (first, second, and third cousin marriage, probably. -- A.H.G.), and often a girl gets married "by herself" without the consent of her family.

582 [616] [587] Moieties, Eagle and Coyote, regulated marriage for the Chukchansi and for the tribes at Friant, said J.R. The levirate was not practiced, he thought; he never knew any man who married his dead brother's wife: "they didn't do that."

586 The informant N.W. stated that there was no divorce, but instantly contradicted herself saying, "If a man is good, and stays with his wife, they stay together always. If they are bad, and want to go away, they don't live together. They can both marry someone else. That was all right." Stepchildren were thought to belong to the second union, not to the first; the spouse who runs away leaves the children behind. If a parent of a stepchild returned and claimed him, the child might recognize the legitimate parent as such and go with him. (This appears to be on the volition of the child rather than on that of either of its biological parents.) When a deserted woman remarried, her children by her first husband behaved toward their stepfather as they would to their actual father.

428 A widow did not inherit her husband's possessions: his things were divided among his children.

606 Parent-in-law tabu.--A man never speaks to his mother-in-law, said J.R., or a girl to her father-in-law. If it is absolutely necessary that they converse, a plural form is used. With a parent-in-law of the same sex, speech is permissible but restrained, i.e., conversation is confined to only such speech as is necessary.

Marriage

W Y 582 With respect to marriage, S.O. said that no type of cousin marriage was tolerated, but cousins were not "counted" beyond second cousins, sometimes third, depending on propinquity of residence; beyond third it would be W Y [587] "all right to marry." Both the levirate and sororate were common but not compulsory. Usually a spouse waited five or six years before remarrying; "they would die right away if they married too soon."

W Y 584 581 At Tuŝao the advances toward a marriage were made by a boy's parents. They talked about it, discussing suitable matches for their son. The girl must not be related in any way: cousins never married. A similar totem animal, however, was no bar to marriage. When a decision had been reached, the boy's parents (or sometimes only the father) would take a present of acorns and visit the girl's parents. They presented the gift, saying that they wanted to be makŝi (co-parents-in-law) with them and have the girl for a daughter-in-law. After a visit discussing casual affairs, they went home. About six days later (S.O. was not sure how many, "a week maybe") they went back to the girl's home. If their proposal had been accepted, they were given a little feast by the girl's parents. Then the parents consulted their children and, it was said, the couple were usually agreeable. Such arrangements were made when the children were between ten and eighteen years of age, though "a boy wasn't often so old." They did this because "they Y W didn't like to have their children go way off to marry."

585 431 When all was settled, the makŝi exchanged gifts, which might comprise beads, baskets, acorn meal, or skins. There was no gift from the boy's family in excess of those from the girl's, "they were just even." The boy himself did not have to bring any gifts.

● Y W 606 ●591 The boy slept with the girl in her home for about one week (S.O.). He was "bashful" and did not speak with his parents-in-law. Then the couple went to his home where they could remain if they wished, but more often they soon removed to a home of their own. The choice of residence depended largely on the space available in the boy's home. The girl returned home W Y frequently for short visits, her husband sometimes accompanying her. She gathered seeds [574] from her mother's seed localities. She, too, was bashful and did not talk with her parents-in-law.[373]

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[373] S.O. could give no more specific behavior between children- and parents-in-law. Although he gave some 200 personal names in genealogies, he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name. Because of his blindness he remained in her home many years after his wife's death; he spoke of these years with her with considerable affection and related a dream pertaining to her.

Y W 601 [P. 235b] Western Mono NS25

The husband was termed loto´pnam (my husband), the wife, or any woman with whom a man had intercourse, yi´wan. There were no changes in these terms after the birth of children.

Y W 595 842 837 While chiefs often had two wives simultaneously in the same home, most men did not. Sterility was the most usual reason for taking a second wife, but sterility was rare. If on the advent of a second wife, the sterile wife "got mad and went home," the man let her go. The majority of spouses, male or female, were not overly concerned if the husband or wife had relations with others.

W Y 602 586 When quarrels arose, the makši acted as peacemakers but, if they failed in their attempts to make a reconciliation, they remained on good terms. They did not return any of the prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was called wai´ikšina. When a husband went off to live with a woman other than his wife, it might be termed katnušu´šya (quarrelling [husband and wife]).

W ● Y 606 583 586 ● 591 The Waksachi B.O. said that parent-in-law tabus were not practiced and he laughed at the idea, but his statement is not compatible with opinions of other informants. He also said that a payment was made by a boy's parents to those of the bride, at marriage, but he could not define the amount or procedure. A girl was seldom married against her will, and afterward, "if she couldn't stand it," she went back to her parents, taking her children with her. Residence was usually patrilocal, but the couple had their own house near their parents-in-law.

W Y 582 [648] The Waksachi married among neighboring people to the north, south, and west. But they never married with Eastern Mono, even when a family or two of that group, having come for trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they didn't want the yo´otc coming over here to stay."[174] The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O. knew of was that of X's son who got into trouble stealing horses, fled across the mountains, and settled there.

W Y [186] B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that persons with the same totemic animal could marry, but said that cousins, even second or third, could not marry. A man seldom had more than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives. There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two wives; they were not sisters. He thought the Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were commonly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not obligatory.

Y W [587]

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[174] This sentiment is amusing since the Western Mono presumably came from the same source, evidently not many generations back, and probably by the same filtering process.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

strated vigorously, would probably soon depart of his own accord. If a marriage took place, the husband lived with his wife's people. This is rather remarkable in view of the fact that most and probably all the Yokuts reckoned descent paternally with reference to exogamy and totemism. As usual in loosely organized society, polygamy was not considered objectionable, but was not the common fortune of men and women, probably because there was no noteworthy excess of females. A man with several wives seems normally to have been married in as many villages, dividing his time between his various households. Kindred of any known degree of relationship, except perhaps one class of cousins, were ineligible to marriage; and, what is more interesting, accidental namesakes as well. The Yokuts state that people of the same tribe and town could marry, and this is confirmed by the parentage of old living Indians; but the vast majority of such specific records reveal marriages between people not of the same tribe. This habit is the more peculiar because the dialects of the tribes always differed somewhat; at the same time, the practice must have been a factor of some influence in preventing the rapid drifting apart of the idioms. Naturally, many of the Yokuts were bilingual; and persons knowing three or four dialects, or even distinct languages, are not rare.

Children-in-law and parents-in-law exhibit mutual shame. They avoid speaking, though inmates of the same house; walk apart; and do not even approach each other unless it is absolutely necessary.

MOIETIES AND TOTEMS.

In addition to the politically exogamic tendency, there was a strict rule requiring a man to marry outside his own inherited social division. These divisions were two, and certain animals were symbolically associated with each and transmitted from father to child and son's child. In other words, the totemic moiety system of the Miwok extends also to the Yokuts. It has been found among hill and valley tribes from the Chukchansi to the Wowol. Only the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani, and with them no doubt some of their immediate neighbors, did not possess the organization. For the extinct valley tribes north of the Fresno River there are no data, but their associations with their own kinsmen to the south, as well as with the upland Miwok, render it extremely probable that the same scheme prevailed among most if not all of them. In fact, the existence of a similar organization among the Mono on the east and probably among the Salinan Indians to the west, together with the reappearance of exogamous moieties in southern California, place the Yokuts more centrally than the Miwok as regards the known distribution of this so-

3: Latta-Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

600 It is surprising to most persons that the life of the Indians was so complex. It requires volumes to recount the many details of their life regarding the securing and preparing of food stuffs, wearing apparel and the multitudinous materials utilized by them. Even at the present time the surviving full-
424 blood Yokuts Indians will be found to have within their houses in addition to the food stuffs known and used by us, many additional seeds, plants, roots, herbs and other materials. It is impossible to attempt to cover all of these things in detail.

THE MOTHER-IN-LAW PROBLEM

606 Probably the most interesting convention of the Yokuts was
591 their custom concerning the relationship between the mother-in-law and son-in-law. When the young Yokuts man married, it was in some tribes customary for him to go to live with the parents of the bride for a period of time approximating one year. During this time he helped with the hunting and other arts and pastimes and shared the responsibilities of the head of the house. Out of this practice there developed a problem which civilized people only too well understand and which led to the mother-in-law taboo. Among tribes where this practice was common, it became customary for the son-in-law never to speak to the mother-in-law and for the mother-in-law never to speak to the son-in-law.

There was no ill feeling between the two because of this. It was simply a necessary custom, and they conformed to that custom religiously. It is said that in some tribes the mother-in-law, upon meeting the son-in-law, would turn to one side and cover her face. This probably represents the custom at its extreme practice. Among some tribes no taboo of any kind was known.

As the period of sojourn with the bride's parents was over, the young couple removed to a distance varying from a few yards to a half mile or more, as the experience of the past year would seem to dictate, and built for themselves a home.

606 The following experience was related by a man who worked
574 for many years among the Yokuts. He had traveled many miles in the heat of summer to visit a Yokuts basket maker on one of the Sierra streams. Upon arrival at her little shack, after a walk of several miles from the end of the road, he found that she was gone upon a long trip for the purpose of gathering roots and other materials for basketry. At home were the husband and an elderly lady, who was a stranger to the visitor.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

man, physician to the Tule River Reservation, gives me the information that both males and females, though bathing quite apart, never enter the water without wearing breech-cloths at least; and this is corroborated by an old resident on King's River, who observed it of them in their native condition. Mr. Charles Maltby, agent of the above reservation, and at one time Indian agent for the whole State, and well acquainted with aboriginal habits, also affirms that the Yokuts are purer than the northern tribes, and that the Indians throughout Southern California are less given to the infamous practice of selling the virtue of their women to white men than those of Northern California. They may not have been any better originally, but they have not been so shamefully debauched by miners. That is probably the explanation.

Their language has what is generally considered a good indication, separate words for "woman" (*mo-kel'-la*), and wife (*mo-ki'*); also, for "man" (*no'-no*) and "husband" (*lo'-wit*).

We find also the singular custom noticed in some other tribes, that a man marrying goes to live at his wife's or father-in-law's house, though he still has power of life or death over her person.

Infanticide is practiced in case of deformity.

Many years ago the Indians dwelling on the lake at the mouth of King's River were carried away captives by the Spaniards, and taken to San Luis Obispo. After a long residence there, upon the breaking up of the missions, they returned to their native land; but meantime a new generation had grown up, to whom the old mission was their home. They yearned to return, and to this day they make an annual pilgrimage to San Luis, where they remain a month; and they would by preference live there all their remaining days, only their children, born on the shores of Tulare Lake, will not consent. By some this may be considered a convincing proof of their attachment to the old Jesuit padres, who used to lasso them in the name of the church; but it is not necessary to resort to this explanation at all. It is easily enough accounted for by the California Indian's proverbial love of his birthplace, just as the slave-born children of Israel lusted for the flesh-pots of that Egypt which had scourged them.

If an Indian dies on a trail far from home he is buried beside it. Every